VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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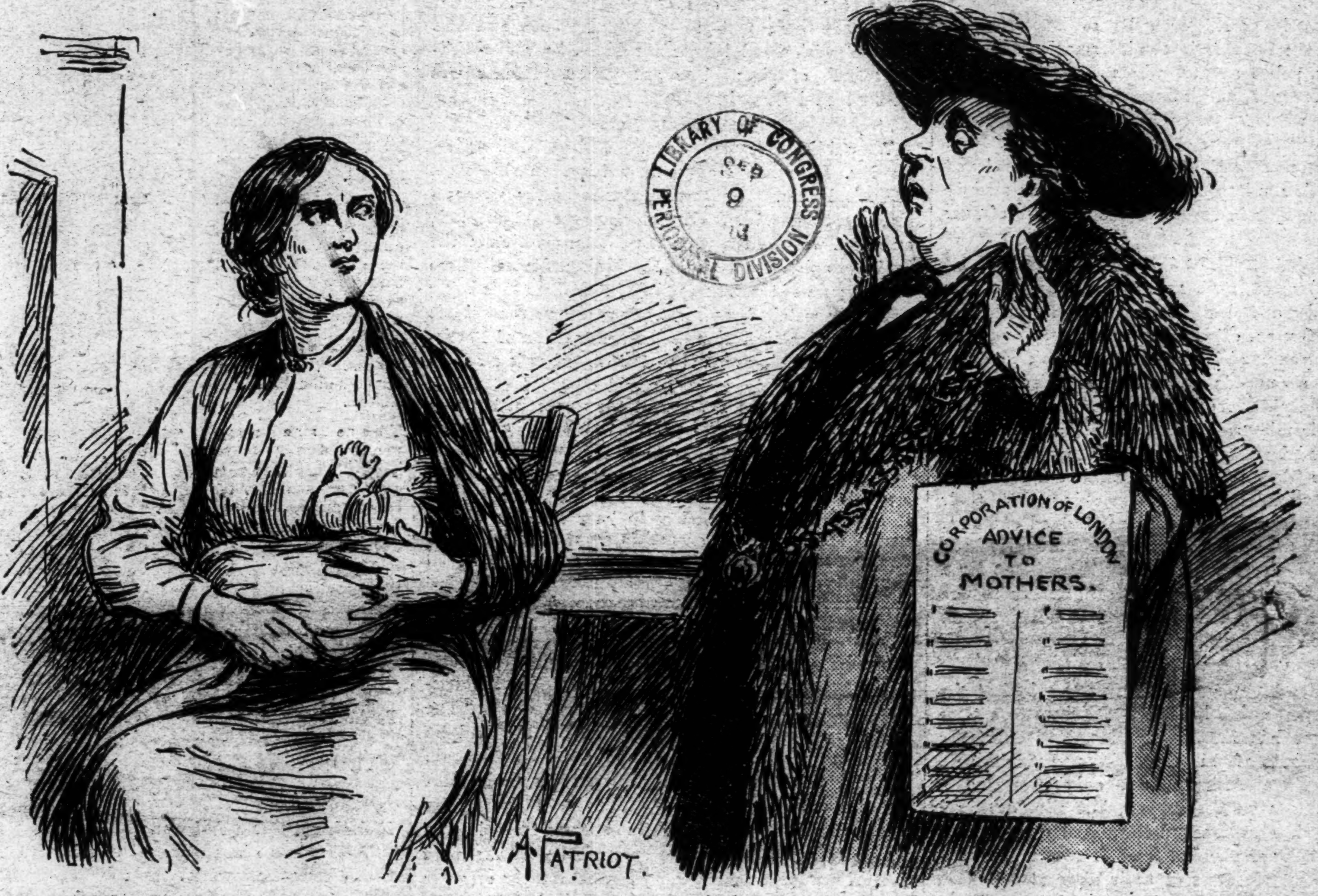
THE RULER OF THE WORLD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CITY FATHER:—My good woman! Singing your baby to sleep? Let me give you some advice——"
MOTHER:—"Just you give me a vote instead of any more advice, and I'll undertake to look after the baby myself!"

(According to the "Daily Citizen," August 22, "the charming lullabies and mother-songs with which the present generation of Englishmen were lulled to slumber" are declared in a leaflet of advice to mothers, issued by the Corporation of London, to be "hopelessly behind the times and out of fashion.")

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

This week we have no political event of outstanding importance to record in connection with the woman's movement. Prominent politicians, whether Suffragists or Cabinet Ministers, are alike making holiday, the one with a clear conscience, the other with a retinue of detectives. For to the overworked detective no holiday is possible while women remain voteless, nor will be until justice is done and members of the Government no longer need protection from their own countrywomen whose cause they have betrayed.

The Chesterfield By-election

The concrete result of the Chesterfield election was, of course, a foregone conclusion, but the ultimate consequences are still uncertain. Will there be a split in the Labour party? Mr. Ramsay MacDonald seems to think that there will, and hints that he would welcome the withdrawal of those who want to be more closely allied with the Liberal party than he does. But what the outside public want to know is, wherein the policy openly avowed by the Derbyshire miners differs from the policy consistently pursued during the last two sessions by Mr. MacDonald? It may be that Mr. MacDonald barks louder against the Liberals than Messrs. Kenyon, Harvey, and Co., but equally with them he refrains from biting; and barks without bites count for nothing in politics.

Women and the Labour Party

In these circumstances women who have thought that they were carrying out an anti-Government policy by supporting the Labour party must take fresh bearings. They must recognise that there is no essential difference between a Labour M.P. and an M.P. who, having labelled himself Liberal, is a direct supporter of the Government. They must realise that it is in consequence of their own exertions and independence of spirit that the votes for women movement is to be brought to fruition, and not through reliance upon the championship of any one of the present parties in Parliament.

Mr. Asquith's Successor

Mr. Keir Hardie has been making prophecies about the Suffrage movement in England, according to the Geneva correspondent of the *Echo de Paris*, by whom he was recently interviewed. Mr. Hardie is reported to have said that the failure of the present Parliament to settle the question was due to the anti-Suffrage opinions of the Prime Minister, but that Mr. Asquith would not continue in power and would be succeeded by Sir Edward Grey, after which there would be no reason why the matter should be further delayed. For our part, we discussed the same contingency in these columns so long ago as last December. But it is not without significance that this should receive confirmation now from Mr. Keir Hardie, who repeats it as if it were a matter of common knowledge.

Sir Edward Carson Still at Liberty

It is with considerable surprise that we have to record that Sir Edward Carson is still at liberty, in spite of all the disorder, involving loss of life and damage to property, that has just occurred in Londonderry. In a letter to the *Times* last Monday, Sir Edward Carson speaks of having used his influence in the past to prevent "sporadic collisions and outbreaks." But, as the Belfast correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* points out:—

> Had the leader appealed to his followers in Londonderry before August 12 to keep the peace, there would not have been so much blood spilt since then, nor would the ratepayers be called upon to pay so much money for broken glass. If he had inculcated on his followers the necessity of self-restraint there would not be any need for him to bewail sporadic outbreaks in Londonderry or elsewhere.

Exactly so. Then why has not Sir Edward Carson been called upon, long before this, to stand and answer for his incitements in the dock, from which people like George Lansbury, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Sylvia Pankhurst have gone straight to prison and the hunger strike, for no other reason than that they made inflammatory speeches which were followed by attacks upon property?

Mrs. Cecil Chapman and the Speaker

Astonishing correspondence has been passing between the Speaker and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, who with several other women was thrust out of the House of Commons with considerable violence by the police, on the occasion of the "Cat and Mouse" deputation of July 24. It is astonishing as showing, first, the credence that is placed even by so impartial an authority as the Speaker in the information supplied by the very police against whom Mrs. Chapman's charges are brought, and, secondly, the way in which he begs the whole question by suggesting that she should substantiate those charges in a Court of Law, where, as he can scarcely fail to know, her word and that of six other unimpeachable witnesses has already been set at nought in favour of the evidence of four policemen.

Striking for Eight Shillings a Week

While extensive strikes are proceeding in the building trades and elsewhere, a little group of rope-workers at Hoxton, of whom some hundred or so are women and young girls, have struck work in order to stand by a comrade whom they consider to have been wrongfully dismissed, and also for the improvement of their miserable conditions. What these are can be judged by the fact that all the women rope-workers are demanding is a minimum of eight shillings a week, and an undertaking that their hours shall be from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., instead of 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Eight shillings a week, and a twelve-hour day! Yet they have been working those hours for a wage of four or five shillings a week, and there was one case of a young girl earning two and ninepence for a week of fifty-seven hours.

The Peace Conference

The question of Woman Suffrage was raised at the Peace Congress, which brought its sittings to a close at the Hague last Saturday. Mr. Prelooker, the London delegate from the Men's International Woman Suffrage Alliance, not only presented a strong resolution on the subject, but also, during a debate on international police, protested against the employment of physical force to ensure peace before all the moral forces at their disposal had been exhausted, the greatest of these moral forces being the help of women. Though called to order by the President, Mr. Prelooher, persisted in speaking, and showed that his point was relevant by winning much applause from those present for his contention that if Woman Suffrage were granted universally, there would be no need for an international police.

The City Fathers and the Baby

Our cartoonist has cleverly depicted on the front page of this issue the feelings of the voteless mother on being subjected to more good advice on the minding of her baby—this time from the Corporation of London. It is not our wish, of course, to criticise any efforts that are being made by well-intentioned persons to minimise the illness and mortality among infants; but we wish to lose no opportunity of pointing out that it is an insult to refuse political power to the mother and then to tell her how to bring up her baby in surroundings that will never be improved until she has some voice in the legislation that so vitally affects those surroundings. Similarly, when the *Times* in its leading article of August 25 says, "The cry of the children is urgent. On the way that we answer depends the future of the race," we entirely agree—provided that the answer is, "Votes for women, who are the bearers of the race."

Released Suffragists

We are delighted to be able to state that Miss Louisa Gay, who was given the preposterously long sentence of eight months, albeit in the first division, at the Old Bailey on January 9, for placing a deleterious substance in one pillar-box, was released last Tuesday, having served the whole of her sentence, less fourteen days' remission. In days to come English men and women will marvel that their country ever allowed such a sentence to be given to a woman fighting for political freedom, and at her courage and endurance in serving it. Miss Graham was also released last Saturday at the expiry of her sentence of fourteen days.

Cat and Mouse Prisoners

During the week Mrs. Rigby and Miss Arabella Scott have been re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act, and as they adopted the hunger-strike their release was expected as we went to Press. Mrs. Wyan, who since her release on August 20 had been lying ill at the Kensington Infirmary, was re-arrested last Wednesday week and released in a serious condition, for the third time, last Saturday, after having adopted the hunger and thirst strike, also for the third time. The anonymous Suffragist who was remanded on August 19 on a charge of breaking Government windows to the value of £4 15s., immediately adopted the hunger-strike, and was therefore brought up at Bow Street on the following day and sentenced to fourteen days' in the second division. The power of the hunger-strike as a weapon is realised when we compare this sentence with Miss Gay's, or with that of many Suffragists in March, 1912, who were sent to prison for one and two months' with hard labour for breaking a few shillingsworth of glass. The anonymous prisoner was released on licence last Monday.

This Week's Paper

We publish this week a delightful political satire, by Mr. Laurence Housman, written in his most whimsical vein. The great progress of the woman's movement abroad is dealt with on pages 692 and 693, on which we give the present political position of the Suffrage agitation, both in the United States, where the progress of the Suffrage Bill in the Senate is being anxiously watched, and in France, where the subject is to be under discussion in the next session of Parliament. A stirring appeal to the Churches is made in our leading article, and we would suggest that this is a particularly good number of the paper with which to circularise clergy and church workers of all kinds.

Items of Interest

In view of the growing discontent among postal servants over the Report of the Holt Committee, it may interest our readers to hear that we intend next week to publish an article on the special grievances of women postal servants, by a woman Civil Servant.

AT THE PROMENADE CONCERTS

An Impression

The success of the Promenade Concert last Thursday was Dr. Ethel Smyth's Overture to "The Wreckers," conducted by herself. Yet she had no mean company with whom to compete, Dvorak, Strauss, Tchaikowsky, being present in their most popular works.

The day has gone by for this success to be in any way attributed to surprise or curiosity at the mere fact of a woman taking her place among the creative artists, though undoubtedly the unusual sight of the tall, graceful figure, in her doctor's blue gown, conducting the orchestra, was an inspiring one both to audience and musicians.

The wave of enthusiasm with which that audience responded and the rapt attention during the performance was due to the music itself, for it belongs to the rare category of the music that not only has wings, but gives them.

I have never had the good fortune to hear the opera, nor do I even know the libretto of "The Wreckers." It is therefore with an apology to the composer that I set forth the impressions and emotions her music conjured up in me. The gallant figure in her doctor's gown, so familiar on the Suffrage battlefield, no doubt counted for something in the way of a mental suggestion.

It seemed to me that at a signal from the conductor I found myself precipitated into the heart of the Woman's Movement. As the themes unfolded and developed, here were marshalled before one in vivid and rapid succession the awakening, the aspirations, the visions of the women of to-day. Then, the obstacles, the conflict, the bitter opposing forces, culminating in strong-armed law and brutal physical force, clashing against the unconquerable force of spirit. The spirit force, at first low-voiced and subtle, but gaining in import and volume till at last it lifted the Woman's Movement as on mighty pinions out of the strife, above the clash and din of opposition, and breaks into a solemn triumphant hymn of achievement. Then man and woman together unite, blending their voices at last in that song of perfect unison only possible to those who have attained true liberty.

This is what the music said to me. To others who knew the libretto, of course, it had another message, but always must it be a noble and inspiring one.

Constance E. Maud.

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FROM "SONGS BEFORE SUNRISE"

We mix from many lands,
  We march from very far;
In hearts and lips and hands
  Our staffs and weapons are;
  The light we walk in darkens sun and moon and star.

It doth not flame and wane
  With years and spheres that roll;
Storm cannot shake nor stain
  The strength that makes it whole,
  The fire that moulds and moves it of the sovereign soul.

We are they that have to cope
  With time till time retire;
We live on hopeless hope,
  We feed on tears and fire;
  Time, foot by foot, gives back before our sheer desire.

From the edge of harsh derision,
  From discord and defeat,
From doubt and lame division,
  We pluck the fruit and eat;
  And the mouth finds it bitter, and the spirit sweet.

We strive with time at wrestling
  Till time be on our side,
And hope, our plumeless nestling,
  A full-fledged eaglet ride
  Down the loud length of storm its windward wings divide.

We are girt with our belief,
  Clothed with our will and crowned;
Hope, fear, delight and grief
  Before our will give ground;
  Their calls are in our ears as shadows of dead sound.

. . . .

O sorrowing hearts of slaves,
  We heard you beat from far!
We bring the light that saves,
  We bring the morning star;
Freedom's good things we bring you,
  Whence all good things are.

—SWINBURNE.

WHY WOMEN ARE SUFFRAGISTS

THE HUMAN DOCUMENT

On this page we give a few of the reasons that make women into Suffragists to-day—not reasons in so many words, perhaps, but real human documents, living facts that cry aloud for the speedy enfranchisement of women. No thinking person can read the instances given here of the economic and social helplessness of women under present conditions without realising that until her political status is raised in the eyes of the manhood of the country she will never be able to battle against the forces that now overwhelm her and drag her down. Whether, as at Hoxton, where the plucky ropemakers are striking for a paltry eight shillings a week, she is struggling for a bare subsistence wage, or whether she is being made to feel in the Courts that women do not count in the eyes of the law, she is demonstrating her need for the political weapon with which she may protect herself and safeguard her interests as men have done and are doing to-day. Most helpless of all is the working-class mother, on whom the vastly larger proportion of blame always falls for the death of those babies who are sacrificed, year in and year out, to social conditions that will never be improved until women are able to stand on an equality with men and to co-operate with them in social reforms that are long overdue.

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THE WOMEN ROPE-MAKERS

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

Rope-making is hard work; it means a steady, monotonous tugging at machines, and it is what is termed semi-skilled work, taking months of training before one does it well; but the hundred or more girls who have been employed at Messrs. Austin and Co.'s works in Hoxton have been earning on an average only 4s. or 5s. a week, for 57½ hours' work, while the highest-paid woman only earned 15s. a week. Their fortunes have been steadily falling ever since the business—managed pleasantly enough when it was privately owned—became the property of a company, and American methods of speeding and saving were adopted. The employees struck, nearly a month ago, as a protest against the dismissal of an old hand with forty-eight years' service. This was only the climax of their discontent, and they are determined not to go back to work until they have secured the very mild concessions demanded, which include a minimum for girls of 8s. per week, and an alteration of working hours from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., instead of the present 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. That a strike committee should consider such hours and such pay worth fighting for is a painful indication of the economic condition of women in the East End. The girls themselves are taking a very active part in the fight. They have been scouring the district with boxes, collecting for the funds which they require even more than most strikers, and they are even taking part in the open-air meetings. One of the most energetic of them all is a small, sixteen-year-old girl, Maggie Murphy, who had a special grievance, because for one week's work she only received 2s. 9d. She accompanied the men on a deputation to the firm, where she stated her case plainly, and she told the same story on Monday to a big evening meeting. The girls, she said, meant to make a big fight for better conditions. She and some of her mates had only earned four or five shillings a week for months past, and now they wanted the support of the public, so that they need not go back to the factory until the conditions under which women worked were improved. A minor complaint made by the women, which is, nevertheless, a very real grievance, since it implies frequent opportunities for annoyance, is that the women employees are under the supervision of men overseers. This, also, they say, should be altered, giving very convincing reasons for their stand. The pluck and determination of the girls are so great that many of them have sold boots and clothing to raise money for the fight, and in their eagerness have worked to the point of exhaustion.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

A Man—For Assault

At the Clerkenwell Sessions on Tuesday, August 19, before Mr. Lawrie, Albert Gyles, who had several previous convictions against him, was charged with maliciously wounding the woman with whom he lived by cutting her under the eye with a penknife. Sentence: *Fourteen days' hard labour.*

For Damaging Letters— Two Youths

Before the bench of magistrates at Cheltenham on August 14 (see *Gloucester Citizen*, August 21), Perry George Tolley and Edgar George Whale, both aged sixteen, were charged with inserting lighted matches and paper into a letter-box at Up Hatherley, with the result that some slight damage was done to letters, and one postcard was burnt. Whale was a chef, and Tolley employed in some firm. Their good character was testified to, and the Chairman, saying the offence was a serious one, let them off with *a fine of 10s. each,* in consideration of their good characters. The offence was committed out of mischief.

One Month for Assaulting Women

Both the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* (August 19) report the case of a private in the Irish Guards who was charged before Mr. Denman at the Marlborough Street Police Court with assaulting Miss Mabel Dudley in Hyde Park. She interfered to prevent his strangling her friend, and he then struck her two or three times, knocking her down. When the other woman came to herself she found her purse was missing. For these assaults he was given one month's imprisonment.

A Woman—For Soliciting

1. At the same sessions, before Mr. Lawrie, Bessie Stagg, for soliciting in Hyde Park, which she denied (there was a previous conviction), was given *three months' hard labour.*

2. At the same sessions, before Mr. Spokes, Elizabeth Smith and Annie Palmer, with previous convictions against them, were each given *six months' hard labour* for soliciting.

For Damaging Letters— A Girl Student

At the Manchester Assizes on November 22 last, before Mr. Justice Coleridge, Miss Margaret Ker, a student at Liverpool University, was charged with placing a deleterious substance in a pillar-box, which resulted, as stated in court, in more damage to her arm than to the letters in the box. The Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University gave her a high testimonial. Sentence: *Three months' in the second division.* The offence was committed with a political object.

Two Months for Assaulting Policemen

At the same time, the same prisoner was charged with assaulting three police constables who were taking him to the police-station. He became very violent, kicking in all directions. For this he was given two months' imprisonment.

"RUGGED HONESTY"

Seven months' imprisonment was the sentence given at Clerkenwell Sessions last Friday to Edward Powell, who was convicted of (1) assaulting the woman he lived with; and (2) living on her immoral earnings. This sentence was given by the same judge, Mr. Lawrie, who, in the same Court, on August 19, had given three years' penal servitude to a man convicted of stealing 2s. 4d. and a collar-stud.

The case of Edward Powell was a remarkable one on account of the extraordinary defence put forward by the prisoner's counsel. He was charged with violently assaulting Ellen Leard, having cut her head open with a saucepan (saucepan was produced in court), blacked her eye, and kicked her badly in the chest. He admitted on oath having kicked the woman several times when she lay on the ground.

Counsel: A very honest man to say that.

The prisoner had to answer a further charge of living on the immoral earnings of Ellen Leard. She was unwilling to give evidence on this charge, and her sister, Annie Leard, deposed to having seen money given to Powell which had been earned on the streets by her sister.

The prisoner declard that he had, on the contrary, tried to keep her off the streets even when they had no food or fire, that it was for this reason he had quarrelled with her on the occasion of the assault. The woman denied this, saying the dispute arose over a shilling.

In summing up for the defence counsel enlarged on the "rugged honesty of the man" in admitting that he had kicked the woman, and spoke of the "little gleam of gold" in his composition. Surely, said counsel, it was a "manly trait" on his part "to want to keep this one woman to himself" (i.e., by cutting her head open with a saucepan?)

The man was sentenced to three months' on the first charge, and four months' on the second, the two sentences to run consecutively.

When women have won the vote and the right to sit on juries, we think that counsel will have to find a better ground for defending persons of the type of Edward Powell than was chosen in the case we have here reported.

Block kindly lent by "Daily Mirror." *Photo—Newspaper Illustration,*

GIRL STRIKER SPEAKING AT HOXTON.

THE VOTELESS MOTHER

INFANTILE MORTALITY

More Blame for Mothers!

The medical officer of health for Islington has been seeking for the cause of infantile mortality in his district, and thinks he has found it in the ignorance and general deficiency of the working mother. In his annual report he says:—

"Persons whose duty it is to inquire into the cause of child mortality invariably find that it is some neglectful act on the part of the mother, the result of want of knowledge. How can they expect otherwise when they find the young girl leaving school—without any conception whatsoever of the management of a house, without the faintest idea of the care of children, or the duties of motherhood—going straight to work in a workshop or workplace or laundry, and then getting married?"

What about Fathers?

That is all very well, but what about the father? Has he been given any idea of the duties of fatherhood before he marries? Dr. Harris goes on to urge the need of more schools for mothers. Admitting that ignorance is one cause of the waste of child life, and that it can to some extent be combated by schools for mothers, we still insist that there is just as much necessity for the establishment of schools for fathers, and that it is grossly unfair to expect all the wisdom, the knowledge, and the care to come from one parent only, and that one the more overworked of the two.

Other Causes

But in any case, to attack the want of technical knowledge in the working-class mother without at the same time pointing out the other great causes of infantile mortality over which she has no control, is to take a prejudiced and unfair view of the whole matter. More than one doctor insisted at the recent International Conference that the prime cause of the death-rate among infants is to be sought in the ravages of the social disease, to inquire into which a Royal Commission is now to be appointed. Further, in view of the revelations of the latest published volume of the Census, that dealing with tenements and the housing of the people, can it be said that even a mother with expert knowledge of the needs of infancy can be blamed for not bringing her baby to years of maturity in face of the tremendous practical difficulties she has to encounter in her home? When women have gained a voice in the nation's affairs, and in such matters as education, health, and housing, it will be time enough to blame them if their babies cannot struggle through the early months of life in such surroundings as are theirs.

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THE MOTHER WHO IS NOT A "PARENT"

An American Example

"A. S. B." tells the following true stories in the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) of the injustice that may be done to mothers through the law which deprives them of legal rights over their own children.

"A poor coloured washerwoman," she writes, "had a worthless husband, who did nothing to support her or their son. The boy was hurt in an accident. A lawyer took up the case with the understanding that he was to get his pay out of the damages. The case dragged along for two years, and before it ended the boy died. After deducting the lawyer's fees, only 500 dollars of the damages were left. The lawyer brought the money to the home of the parents. The mother was washing, the father smoking on the steps. The lawyer gave the 500 dollars to the father. The mother protested. She said, 'I supported that boy all his life. I nursed him when he was ill, I paid for his coffin, and now I am washing to earn a tombstone for him. Can't you give me just enough of that money to pay for his tombstone?' But the lawyer answered, 'Certainly not. You are only his mother.' And he handed the whole roll of bills to the father, who spent it for drink.

"In another case a man abandoned his wife and baby. The mother brought up the child by dint of much labour and sacrifice, and he became a distinguished lawyer. But he died intestate. All his property went to the father who had deserted him in his cradle, and his mother became a public charge."

WOMEN TEACHERS AND THE INSURANCE ACT

By Margaret Wright

As there are so many grades in the teaching profession, and since it is as a profession unique in many respects, one might have expected that teachers would be consulted before compulsory insurance became law. The large majority of teachers are women, but the Government continues steadily to push on legislation intimately affecting women, such as the Insurance Act, the Mental Deficiency Bill, and the Education Bill, while withholding from women the vote. The peculiar requirements of the teaching profession seem not to have been studied at all, for under the Insurance Act teachers, typists and servants are treated all together without discrimination.

Although there is almost unanimous dislike of the Insurance Act amongst teachers, and although a very large number could show good reason why such an Act is of no benefit to them, yet only one section of teachers under the £160 income limit is exempt—the elementary teachers, who, as a class, are probably more liable to sickness than any other grade of teacher; their work is more strenuous owing to the large classes, the supervision is more harassing and the environment frequently less healthy. The reason for their exemption appears to be based on the supposition that they are otherwise provided for. It is a little difficult to ascertain definite facts, as there seem to be certain rules of silence imposed by the L.C.C. on its teachers, and different Councils have different systems; but the provision for the L.C.C. elementary teacher appears to be:—

(1) A pension at 65, according to years of service, for which a sum of £3 12s. a year is compulsorily deducted from every teacher's salary. Should a teacher retire before time—for example, to marry—she loses the pension and the money she has paid in; this is considered unjust, and is not an incentive to marriage. Similar conditions apply to ward maids and servants in certain hospitals and asylums. A case in point came to my notice a short time ago. A cook in a London hospital, who had paid the compulsory pension contribution yearly from her wages, took a post under a different authority, and thus derived no benefit from the money she had paid.

(2) A "break-down" pension, to obtain which a teacher must have served half her time from the moment of becoming certificated. *There is no allowance for sickness other than break-down.*

There is in addition to this an L.C.C. pension scheme, to which the teacher contributes according to salary, and on retiring at any time may draw her money with 3 per cent. interest thereon.

In spite of the obviously parsimonious treatment of the teacher in the above scheme, this is in many respects more suitable to the requirements of a teacher than the Insurance Act. The benefits given by the Insurance Act are:—

(1) Treatment by a panel doctor when ill, and free medicine.
(2) 7s. 6d. a week during sickness.
(3) 5s. a week permanent disablement.
(4) Sanatorium treatment.

With regard to the panel doctors, the majority of teachers have no wish to leave their own doctor, who very probably is not a panel doctor. Promises have been given for contracting out; but although I have heard of many teachers who have applied to contract out, in no case have I met a teacher who has had a definite answer in the affirmative from the Insurance Committee. Printed forms may be sent to be filled in, and there the matter ends. In practice teachers are not going to panel doctors, and their dislike of the system increases rather than diminishes. Teachers as a profession are strong; their very work requires that they should be temperate and healthy; many of them must pay the insurance tax during their years of greatest strength (and poverty), knowing perfectly well that when they are more likely to be ill they will be otherwise provided for.

That teachers are physically strong is shown by the report (April 30, 1913) of the Secondary, Technical, and University Teachers' Insurance Society; here it was stated that out of a membership of 8,871 only 355 had claimed benefit to date, and (by a rough calculation) it appears that whereas £6,034 was paid in during the first six months, £498 was paid out in benefit, and of this sum I presume the Government paid about two-ninths. It is not yet known what percentage of the contribution is absorbed in expenses.

High school and secondary school teachers will derive little or no benefit from the Act, for should such a teacher be often absent for more than a week, she would probably lose her post, and yet not be considered permanently disabled; at the time when she is more likely to become permanently disabled, and thus derive some real benefit, she will, in all probability, have passed the £160 limit and be out of the Act altogether. For serious illness, while under the Act, the teacher will probably have to fall back upon the hospitals as before; 7s. 6d. a week would not go far in her position, especially when ill. The Teachers' League of the South London Hospital for Women seems to be a far more satisfactory solution in cases of serious illness than the Insurance Act benefit. Members of this League pay an annual subscription of 5s. (student members 2s. 6d.), and are entitled to the use of a bed in a private ward free, or at a reduction proportionate to circumstances.

In certain trade schools (notably the Middlesex C.C.), the teachers lose their 7s. 6d. a week for two months, for, by the terms of their agreement, they are entitled to two months' salary during sickness; the Committee now claims the 7s. 6d. benefit during the two months.

Governesses seem, if possible, to dislike the Act even more than other types of teachers, and evade it wherever possible; formerly, if resident, they were as a rule provided for in cases of sickness by their employer; in any case, resident or non-resident, the 7s. 6d. would not find them shelter and nursing when ill. Many teachers have been forced into the Insurance scheme much against their will. In a case reported to me, a daily governess having a private income of £20 a year and receiving in addition board and lodging at home, applied for exemption, but her application was refused.

The Insurance Act has certainly done magnificent propaganda work for Votes for Women; teachers of all grades bitterly resent this taxation without representation, and realise the urgency of Woman Suffrage more deeply every year. Dislike of the Insurance Act could not, indeed, find better expression than in work for Votes for Women.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White, and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

One of the great stories of the world is that of the mission achieved by St. Francis of Assisi. Having himself received a revelation of truth that gave a new moral significance to life, he yearned to bring all men to the knowledge of the same, and before his death his message had gone from end to end of Christendom and had penetrated even into heathen lands, and the thought of the world had been influenced and changed for good.

This great achievement was wrought out by means of thousands of workers, many of them of humble origin, many of them illiterate, and all of them vowed to utter poverty. It was done with next to no organisation by a multitude of individuals inspired with enthusiasm and devotion. The story remains as an amazing proof of what can be done by voluntary co-operation and voluntary effort.

In this twentieth century there are thousands of men and women who have recognised in the Woman's Movement and all that underlies it the transforming hope of the present and future. This illumination they want to bring to others. But the end can only be attained in one way—by human speech, however feeble and halting; by words of fact, of argument, and of persuasion, fortified by sincerity, and earnestness, and personal effort, and sacrifice.

The idea of the Votes for Women Fellowship is that it shall consist of thousands of men and women who will make it their definite aim and business, as individuals associated in common purpose and endeavour, to bring this illumination to the people who are still in profound ignorance as to the significance of the Woman's Movement. In every Parliamentary constituency through the whole of the country there should be a group of Fellows spreading the circulation of the paper, gathering in new recruits, gaining the sympathy of the electors, and winning their pledge to use their vote solely in the interests of this Movement until women's enfranchisement is won. In this way we should get the country at our back, not merely in the vague and general sense in which it can be said to support to-day the claim of women to be included in the body politic, but with whole-hearted and intelligent enthusiasm.

As a proof of what one voluntary worker alone can achieve, we publish an extract from a letter which we have received from one of the Fellows, who is a professional working woman:—

"I rejoice to say that the hundred new members I purposed to obtain for the Fellowship needs only six to complete the number, and these I hope to win in my holiday at the end of the month. My sale of Votes for Women through newsagents numbers sixty-seven copies weekly, and to be assured of this I enquire at newsagents every six weeks to ascertain if subscribers are taking their papers regularly. When possible I persuade newsagents to join the Fellowship, as this stimulates their interest in the paper and secures for the poster a prominent position. Four newsagents have already become members."

Imagine what result would be accomplished if thousands of individuals set themselves to the fulfilment of the same task which one has actually achieved.

We invite all who read this paper to enrol themselves at once in the Votes for Women Fellowship (of which particulars are given on the back page of this paper), and then to go forth to win their hundred new Fellows, who in turn will carry on the work by enrolling hundreds more, until the knowledge of all that this great Movement signifies has been carried into every village, hamlet, and street, from one end of the land to the other.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Although this is called the dead season, it is not so for Suffragists. Several new sellers are at work, while those who are away on holiday do not miss any opportunity of selling the paper along beach and parade. There was a vigorous sale by four of our members at the Herr Bebel memorial meeting in Trafalgar Square last Sunday, and some quiet propaganda work was done.

The pitches are filling up well, but London is never empty, and there is plenty of room for fresh volunteers. Names should be sent in as soon as possible in order that arrangements may be made for the autumn campaign.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Aug. 23, 1913)

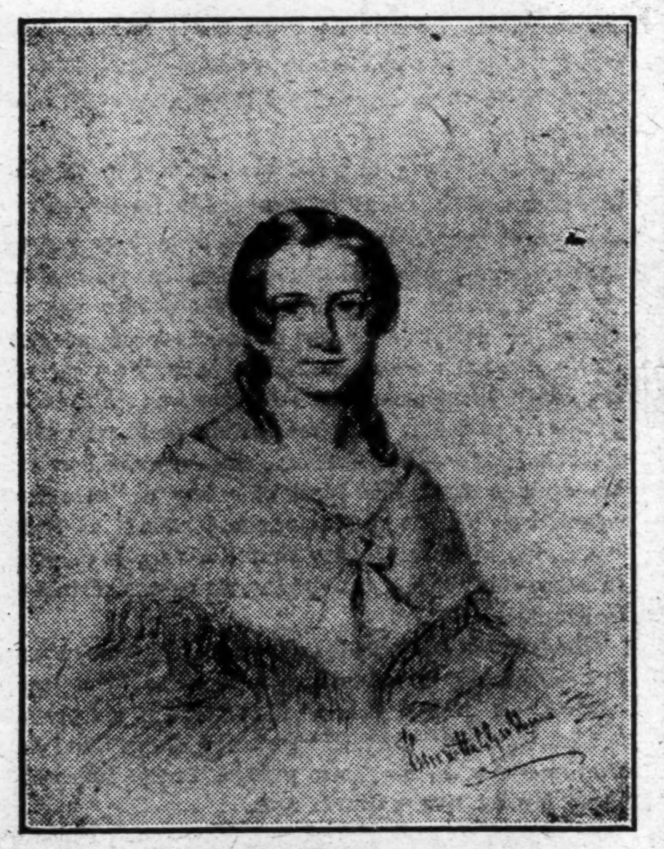
	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	828	11	11
Miss Marion Wollen	0	1	0
Miss Bertha Collier ..	0	11	0
Miss E. Jessop	0	1	0
Mrs. Everett	0	5	0
Mrs. Cathcart	0	1	0
Miss E. L. P. Elford.	0	1	0
Miss E. R. Esson ..	0	1	0
Miss R. F. Harris ..	0	3	6
Mrs. Beniester......	0	1	0
"G.E.M."	0	2	0
Mrs. Ireland........	1	5	0
Miss E. R. Pringle ..	0	1	0
Miss E. Beagley (extra on Votes)........	0	1	7
Miss N. Geddes	0	1	0
"Anon"	0	2	6
Anon. Street Sales..	0	0	7
Mrs. W. F. Russell..	0	1	0
Miss McNeill	0	4	9
Mrs. R. H. Plowden .	0	1	0
Miss D. M. Saxton ..	2	2	0
Miss M. Paton......	0	3	0
B. F. O'Brien, Esq...	0	4	2
Mrs. Masters (extra on Votes)	0	0	2
Miss L. Tingle......	0	1	0
"A Bluejacket for the Cause"	0	2	6
Miss E. Swan	0	1	0
Mrs. Birse	0	4	2
Total......	£834	15	10

BIOGRAPHY AND NOVELS

LIFE OF JOHN BRIGHT*

Few names in the pages of history shine with such untarnished lustre of honesty and uprightness as that of John Bright. It is good to recall such a life, good to trace from source to finish such a career of transparent sincerity, the career of one who in the corrupting influence of political life remained unswerving in allegiance to high ideals, of one to whom great political issues meant more than party spirit, and who preferred the interests of the nation to personal gain or the joys and advantages of office. It is refreshing and stimulating to read of this great Englishman, and Mr. Trevelyan's biography is admirably fitted to do honour to his memory. It seems to us, in its full, yet restrained, appreciation, its clear, unaffected style, instinct with honour and respect yet devoid of insistent eulogy, to be in exactly the tone which John Bright himself might have approved for the record of his life and work. No better words of introduction and appraisement could be found than Mr. Trevelyan's own :—

> How clear-cut is the sturdy image evoked by those two blunt Saxon syllables, "John Bright!" Once the rallying cry of the masses seeking enfranchisement—the trump of doom to Whig and Tory in possession—the name in memory has since become the symbol of an honest man in politics, of a strong, kind face framed in venerable white hair. But to no one have the words "John Bright" ever suggested change or hesitation, sophistry or self-interest.



PRISCILLA, SISTER OF JOHN BRIGHT,
Afterwards Mrs. Duncan McLaren

(From an early portrait in possession of her son, Lord Aberconway, to whom, and to the publishers, Messrs. Constable and Co., we are indebted for permission to reproduce.)

John Bright was eminently the champion of the working-classes. Born in 1811, the son of a weaver who was able to set up a mill of his own in Rochdale, he came of a family in touch with workers. His mother, like those of most remarkable men, was a woman of exceptional character, and the large family were all interested in politics and questions of the day. But it was not until the death of his beloved first wife, after a brief two years of wedded happiness, that John Bright threw his whole energies into political life. Here he found himself and found his splendid powers of oratory. His first great fight, shoulder to shoulder with Cobden, for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, was won inch by inch in the teeth of every possible prejudice, misrepresentation and obstruction. In this struggle Cobden took the lead, but in the fight for the enfranchisement of the working-man it was Bright who led and who really won the victory—

> by long years of single-handed agitation which concentrated on his head the hatred and scorn of the upper class and of the official world, and the devoted loyalty of the artisans, who for a while regarded him as their sole political champion.

The history of this struggle is of absorbing interest in our own day, and, of course, peculiarly so to women, who are going through a precisely similar struggle for political rights. The same battle has to be fought for every extension of rights and privileges. We find the same reluctance on the part of the privileged to admit the unprivileged to a share in their advantages, the same blind obstinacy to arguments based on justice or reason. Above all, we find the same want of political insight in those in power! How familiar sounds John Bright (1867) :—

> They object to any transfer of power from those who now possess it, and they object to share their power with any increased number of their countrymen who form the working class. They regard the workmen here as the southern planter regards the negroes who were so lately his slaves. They can no longer be bought or sold. So far they are free men. They may work and pay taxes, but they must not vote. They must obey the laws, but must have no share in selecting the men who are to make them. The future position of the millions of working men in the United Kingdom is now determined, if the opposition of the Tory party is to prevail—it is precisely that fixed by the southern planter for the negro.

These words define exactly the position of women at the present day.

Step by step the position had to be forced. Meetings were held all over the country; everywhere John Bright used the force of his personality and his wonderful eloquence to persuade and convince. There were demonstrations, prohibitions of Free Speech, coalitions and intrigues in the House in the sixties—as there are to-day. But at last the cause was won, as every right cause is bound to win. We find great comfort in reading of this struggle for the franchise! Nor can we marvel greatly at the blindness and stupidity of statesmen in the sixties (before modern education had equipped the voter of the working-classes, before Socialism was at the door) when we see the same history repeating itself at the present day. It is not given to every politician to have the keenness of vision of a John Bright or a Cobden! On one point only do we find a wavering attitude in Bright; we refer, of course, to his hesitation on the subject of woman franchise. After enlarging the electorate so enormously he could not see any benefit in a further increase of voters for the time, although he foresaw that woman franchise would probably be granted at some future date. Doubtless his "Nonconformist conscience" prompted the fear that the majority of women voters would "add to the power of Priestcraft in every part of the Three Kingdoms." He was bitterly prejudiced against the Established Church, and never forgot that his father had suffered distraint for resistance to Church Taxes. (There still lingers in some minds an idea that all women would vote "solid" and presumably in favour of any party disapproved of by the minds in question.) Had John Bright lived later there is little doubt that in this, as in some other matters (e.g., employment of workers overtime), he would have modified his views. A man of his fairness and breadth of view could scarcely fail to do so. Besides, his Quaker sect, alone among churches, has never denied to women the right to speak and teach publicly in its assemblies. And Bright's daughters are well-known supporters of the cause We have dwelt chiefly upon this great measure of the working-man's franchise as brought about by John Bright, because it is of supreme interest to readers of this paper, but only want of space forbids more than a mention of his other great services to the world, of his fine attitude in the Crimean War and the American Civil War. He never cared for office, and only accepted it late in life, when he felt that to refuse would be to shirk a duty.

> He could not have consented to the compromises demanded of those who wield the power of State,

says Mr. Trevelyan. His chief influence lay in his speeches, as he himself said: "My life is in my speeches."

It is a fascinating story, doubly so to those who are fighting in the never-ending struggle of Right against Might.

M. H.

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* "The Life of John Bright." By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (Constable and Co. Price 15s. net.)

NEW NOVELS

THE GIFT AND THE GIVER*

Mary O'Neill's story is the story of a girl married while she is little more than a child, with no knowledge of the world, of sex, of the meaning of marriage, of the difficulties or joys of life, to a man versed in the ways of vice, with no more love for her than she has for him. Lord Raa married Mary O'Neill for the sake of her fortune; she marries him at the bidding of her father, with the result that marriage becomes for her a synonym of misery. "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder." Because of that saying, Mary, who is a Catholic, must remain bound to her husband till death do them part; but one of the questions which Mr. Caine's book raises is: What has God to do with such marriages as this? When man, and man alone, from motives wholly ignoble, "arranges" a marriage in which wealth is bartered for position, innocence is the prey of ignorance and love is absent, has God any hand in the undertaking? Is there in it any element of a sacrament, anything holy, any bond which, being spiritual, cannot be broken?

Mary O'Neill is not so truly a woman as Mr. Hall Caine would have us believe. Much of what he considers womanliness is not of the nature of woman at all, but consists of spurious growths, born of conditions of subservience, fostered by tradition and convention. The most essentially womanly thing in the book is the sacrifice of Sister Angela who gives all, even to the uttermost farthing, for the man she loves, gives not to, but for him—a far harder thing—the most precious thing a woman has to give. Yet Mary grows. She learns through contact with life in its grim and undisguised realities—and here Mr. Caine's imagination guides him aright—learns to take a different view from that with which she sets out upon her experiences, of sin and virtue, morality and ethics Naked facts bring her to naked truth, and, face to face with that nakedness, the robes of prejudice which have covered her soul fall away from it, and reverence steps into the place of contempt. Mary is ready to do for her baby's sake, what Sister Angela has done, when help comes to her.

Mr. Hall Caine is able to conceive of women doing generous and large hearted things for a man, for a child: so are many men; it is in the tradition. But Mr. Caine's conceptions go further than this—or we think so. Certain it is that he perceives many of the wrongs to which women are subjected by reason of their status, many of the disabilities under which they suffer, and we think, from this book, that he can understand that to right these wrongs, to remove the disabilities of sex, becomes, for women with hearts and brains, a sacred duty.

G.

WASTED WOMANHOOD†

The women who go wrong and are unable to go right again, those are the "pitchers" of whom Mr. Kauffman writes in a book which is practically an indictment of society's treatment of its broken vessels. Broken indeed, and always—in these sketches which, the author assures us, are taken from life and are untouched by fiction—before they are fully formed; for they fall, these fallen women, before they have reached maturity, before they know the meaning of womanhood, while they are still little more than children; and, having fallen, society treads upon them, making it next to impossible for them ever to stand again upon their feet. Yet—and that is the marvellous thing, the thing which stands out in these stories which are true—though these women, broken, outcast, are accounted no more as virtuous, there remain to them many virtues; generosity, forgiveness, loyalty, and a horror—we see it over and over again—of impurity, a horror so strong that they choose to die rather than to continue in degradation. To be sure, there are some who turn upon their persecutors; one here and there who, like Bertha Dixon, metes out death to her betrayer; but these are few; the many accept death with patience or with welcome, enduring or courting it. And some like Maud in "Things we ought to have done," face it in horrible form rather than betray what to them seems sacred.

Mr. Kauffman is just. He has no condemnation for individuals; it is the false conventions, the sham morality, the whole wrong attitude of society as a whole, which fall under his condemnation. And he speaks with authority, he has a right to speak; because he knows. Not with hearsay knowledge, but by positive experience. He and his wife have lived amongst these women accounted lost, have made friends of them, have seen them as they are; not as figures in statistics, not as sinners nor as outcasts, but as human beings; with faults, with weaknesses, sometimes with vices, but with qualities which constantly put to shame the feeble piety and narrow judgment of those who condemn them. By this book the author adds one more lamp to the lights which he has cast on dark places.

A SOCIETY MISSIONARY

In "The Pain of the World"* Mrs. Hugo Ames has given us the story of a man of wealth and position who was born with a realisation of that pain, and whose life is given to trying to make it less and to make others feel it and help him in his task. The author has keen sympathy with the down-trodden and the suffering and a wide knowledge of the abuses of to-day. In this book she shows us something of the conditions of sweated labour, something of the horror, physical and super-physical, which walks hand in hand with wealth and luxury. That the troubles of women are not omitted from the many kinds of troubles which the author brings before her readers is guaranteed by the fact that she causes Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to appear on a platform and gives an extract from one of her speeches. The story is not all in shadow; there are lighter scenes, in which a typical society woman, Lady Ancaster, displays her cynical views and shrewd perception.

Perhaps the book would have gained had it been pitched in a less high key; had the writing been subject to greater restraint; had the utterances of the hero been less flowery. But the story is one of high aims and strong sympathy, and as such must be appreciated.

G.

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* "The Woman Thou Gavest Me. Being the Story of Mary O'Neill." By Hall Caine. (Heinemann. Price 6s.)

† "Broken Pitchers." By Reginald Wright Kauffman. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 6s.)

* "The Pain of the World." By Mrs. Hugo Ames. (The Key Publishing Company. Price 6s.)

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

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The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

THE NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION
FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
(Non-Party and Constitutional).

This Federation has been formed by Members of the Scottish Deputation (which was denied an interview by Mr. Asquith) with a view to ending the fight for Women's Suffrage without further delay.

A great scheme is on foot by which the prominent citizens of the North will take measures to lay their demands before the Government.

All the important Cities and Towns of Scotland and the North of England are being brought into line with the Federation and will be dominated by one policy.

The initiative and private effort in bringing Members of the Municipalities and other representative citizens of Edinburgh and Glasgow to London having been effected with great success within the space of one month, it is confidently expected that with a long pull and a strong pull and a pull **altogether**, the Northern Federation of men can bring such a solid weight of public opinion to bear upon the Government as shall make it yield to the National Demand for Justice.

The following Towns have been and are being organised:—

Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, Inverness, East Fife, Berwick-on-Tweed, Morpeth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, Preston, Barrow-in-Furness.

The following ladies have kindly consented to act as Secretaries:—

Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck, Miss Janie Allan, Miss Nannie Brown, Mrs. Lilian Hicks, Miss Margaret Cameron, Miss Winifred Holiday, Mrs. Roy Rothwell, &c., &c.

Inquiries as to membership and all donations to the National Fund which has been opened for the working expenses, should be addressed to the

Hon. Organiser to the Federation,
Mrs. ARNCLIFFE-SENNETT,
6, WELLINGTON ROAD, ST. JOHN'S WOOD,
LONDON.

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THE CLUB has been formed for
MEN AND WOMEN
interested in the Suffrage Movement.
CONSTANT LECTURES ARRANGED.
Bedrooms can be reserved for Lady Members at economical terms. Table d'hôte Lunch, 1/6, and Dinner, 2/6. Light Refreshments at any time. All particulars, SECRETARY.

TO WOMEN TAX-PAYERS.

All women who pay Imperial Taxes are urged to write to, or call on,
THE WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE
10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.,
for information, and to ascertain how greatly they may help the Suffrage Movement by their
REFUSAL TO PAY TAXES
until women are enfranchised.

In order to increase the valuable work done by these constitutional protests, we earnestly appeal for
RESISTERS and SUBSCRIBERS.
Organizing Secretary. Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

VOTES FOR WOMEN
4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.
Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29, 1913.

IS THE CHURCH WITH US?

The strife of political tongues is for the moment stilled. When voices from without are hushed, voices from within can make themselves heard. Putting aside for once the political aspects of the present struggle for the emancipation of women, let us consider what is its fundamental significance.

The Woman's Movement is the affirmation—the militant affirmation—of two great religious conceptions that are totally opposed to the instincts and the traditions of the pagan world, and are practically denied in every age of materialism. It reaffirms the human equality of man (that is, of all members of the human race, both male and female), a conception founded upon the faith that the Father of every human soul is God. It reaffirms the sacredness of human life, founded upon the belief that the human body is the temple of the divine spirit, and that it is not to be profaned by being made the private property and possession of another.

These two revolutionary ideas given to humanity by the Founder of the Christian faith, as they have emerged ever and again in some new crisis of human affairs, have been denied and opposed by all the enthroned powers of the world for nearly two thousand years. And the story of Christendom is written in the history of a series of conflicts carried on around these two ideas, between the children of darkness and the children of light, in which the Church has sometimes been found upon the side of its revolutionary Founder, but too often upon the side of the powers ruling an unenlightened and materialistic world. The last century saw the clash of these opposing forces in the great conflict as to whether negro slavery should or should not continue to exist in the United States. With honourable exceptions, the organised Church sided with the slave-owner. Ministers of the Christian religion went so far as to exalt the defence of slavery into a tenet of the Christian faith. They were not guilty of wilful and conscious treachery. But they had put on the world's spectacles. They saw current events through the medium of the world's opinions and the world's verdicts. Thus they became the blind leaders of the blind.

The Church is placed in exactly the same position to-day with regard to the Woman's Movement. The same fundamentally religious and moral issues are again at stake. To-day it is the Woman's Movement that is holding up the light of a great spiritual revelation against the darkness and error of a materialistic age. The civilised but still pagan world does not believe in the human equality of men and women. It does not believe that the woman's body is a temple that is not to be held in the possession of any master save that of the indwelling spirit. On the contrary, the world believes in the ownership and dominance of the male and in the subjection and subservience of the female half of humanity, as firmly as a hundred years ago it believed in the system which held the American negro slave in bondage.

Such a belief is a denial of the Christian law and the Christian faith. Yet see how this denial is stamped on all our institutions, laws, customs, and conventions in all matters pertaining to sex! It makes the legal estate of marriage a form of slavery in which the person of the wife becomes, in legal phraseology and in legal fact, the property of the husband. It is implied in the refusal to the wedded mother of the rights of joint legal guardianship of the children which are born of her body. It is responsible for the double standard of morality demanded from men and women respectively.

This denial of faith is written large above the portals of our "Homes for Fallen Children"(!), which are full of little girls, many of them mere babies, whose bodies have been desecrated and whose minds have been seared by the lust that is fostered in men by an overweening sense of mastership. It is stamped upon our Courts of Administration, and is responsible for the light sentences inflicted upon men for all crimes concerning matters of sex, whether brutality to wives or criminal assault upon girls and children.

Last week we published the case of a Sheffield labourer sent to prison for one month for committing a criminal assault upon a baby girl of four years of age, a merely nominal punishment in view of the severe sentences inflicted upon those who are convicted of petty theft or destruction of property. Many administrators of the law take the view with regard to these crimes of assault upon children and girls as was taken by a magistrate at the Sandwich Quarter Sessions, last October, who expressed publicly his opinion that this kind of crime is "sometimes committed by the best-conducted men," is indeed "just one of those things that the very best people in every class of life are apt in an unguarded moment to commit."

Shocked as sheltered and protected women must feel at such a statement, yet it is but the logical application of the theory that women simply and solely, by reason of their sex, are disqualified from participation in the body politic, being different in their human quality from men.

It is against this negation of spiritual belief that the Woman's Movement has taken up its militant stand. It reasserts, as the movement for the emancipation of the negro did two or three generations ago, the dignity of human life and the sacredness of the human body and soul. Upon its triumph depend the foundations of social morality.

On which side of the present conflict is the Church to be found? Will it identify itself once again with the forces of materialism and domination, or will it ally itself with the spirit of divine liberty, as manifested in the Woman's Movement to-day?

Very great issues rest upon the answer to that question. Devoted and loyal Churchwomen are awaiting it with intense interest. Were the Church as a body to follow the lead of some of its most enlightened representatives, it could open the eyes of the people of this country to see in this claim of half the human race for emancipation the portent of a new heritage of strength and happiness for the entire social community. The tragedy that was the outcome of the conflict of the nineteenth century would be averted in the twentieth.

But the revolutionary truths of the Christian faith have not always in the past been wrought into the fabric of human life by the Church, and history may repeat itself in the story of the Woman's Movement. In any case, the call is heard to-day by all the children of light, to enlist themselves as soldiers of the newly realised and newly applied faith which, albeit at the price of sacrifice, suffering, and death, must overcome the world, and in overcoming lift it to a higher level of human happiness and attainment.

A SIDE-WIND

By Laurence Housman

The Prime Minister of Rotundia was majestically making his way one morning across the parks of the Metropolis, receiving at intervals, as one to the manner born, the obsequious salutes of its free and independent citizens, when, on a sudden, a frisky gust of wind lifted from his pondering brain its shiny covering, and, with a preliminary cast of elliptical grace, sent it trundling at a lively speed in a direction wholly unconducive to the gathering of Cabinet Ministers which was then awaiting him.

The Prime Minister, with an instinctive consciousness of what became the dignity of one so highly placed in the councils of the nation, looked around for some representative of the proletariat to relieve him from a position of unseemly embarrassment; but recognisers of his high official position were not at that moment in evidence. A nursemaid propelling a perambulator halted and stared, sorry that so fine a hat should have behind it one so faint in pursuing; while a little further off two sportive urchins, of a class too comfortable to run for coppers, saw one corner of the social problem presenting itself before their eyes in a form they could understand and appreciate, and with the instinctive inaction of budding statesmanship stood to watch the dénouement.

"Franchise in its Blood"

So far it was an affair of moments only; but the spring wind had franchise in its blood, and was as inconsiderate of ministerial dignity as those whom this story leaves nameless; the pathway also, with a like inconsiderateness, happened to be of gravel, and every moment that passed, the hat, as it pursued its involuntary career, was deteriorating in value. Conscious that he must at least wear it to the Cabinet meeting for which he was already late, the Prime Minister turned and stepped after it.

It seemed as though the hat had eyes, no sooner did its lordly owner advance toward it than the sleek black slave rose upon its rim and fled. Years of power and the leadership of a great party had made running a thing outside the Prime Minister's constitution; he pulled up abruptly, and shouting "Hi, boy!" to the distant urchins, held up a florin, hoping that for so large a bribe heart of grace might be found in one of them.

But the distance was too great for the coin to give information of its value. He heard the boys laugh, for the bald head of the elderly invites no pity unless it is bowed; and to those who are obviously portly only from prosperity, the heart of youth is adamant. Breathing a prayer to Heaven for the preservation of his incognito from the predatory gaze of the half-penny pressmongers, he took in breath and began ponderously to run—if, that is to say, the will may be taken for the deed. In other words, he broke into a trot, and saw with satisfaction the sidling hat cower down against the curb-railing as though awed into submission by so sudden a display of resolution in its rightful owner.

The unaccustomed motion stirred memories. When had he run last? Certainly not since he had become Prime Minister; no—he must go back farther than that—not since, in the days of his first courtship, he had run upstairs three steps at a time to the room where Lady Euphemia was expecting him, in order to tell her that he was included not merely in the new Ministry then forming, but in the Cabinet. And he remembered how then Euphemia instead of throwing her arms about him in rapturous delight, as he had expected her to do, had coldly enquired whether a certain reform often discussed between them—a reform toward which for personal reasons his academic adhesion had warmed into eloquent advocacy—whether, to his knowledge, that reform was to be included in the coming Government's programme; and, if not, what was he going to do?

"A Mere Question of Tactics"

Now when a man, and above all a politician, has, by a big stride, set foot on the highest possible rung of the ladder of fame, only to hear himself calmly told by the lady of his choice to take his foot off it again—and that over a mere question of tactics, which she chooses to regard as principle—he is very justly annoyed; it makes him think—it made the future Prime Minister of Rotundia think—that a woman, even an intelligent woman like Euphemia, does not understand politics. So when Euphemia, having heard to the end a tale which included among its incidents a hurried visit to his tailor for the ordering of the ministerial uniform, put to him the utterly chilling question, "And when are you going to resign?" he, who up till then had laid his ambitions at her feet to be shared and approved—not to be criticised—felt (as who would not) very justly annoyed. Euphemia had grey eyes, and there was at times a look in them which hitherto he had regarded as divine. Conscious, he saw that look directed upon him with a new meaning, and whereas on previous occasions he had interpreted it as a divining of his inmost thoughts and aspirations, it then seemed to him inquisitorial. The suspicion flushed him. He spoke angrily, "I should not think," he said, "of making myself so supremely ridiculous!" Euphemia's answer conveyed an assumption of superior wisdom which made him almost loathe her on the spot. "To do right," she said, "people sometimes have to make themselves appear ridiculous. I am sorry you haven't the courage."

As a result of that interview, he lost his Euphemia; and with all the force of a resolute will he had tried not to regret it. Euphemia had endeavoured to use her sex-influence in politics; and to prove to himself his independence as a man and his honour as a politician, he had married somebody else with much more money than Euphemia, and with more social influence; and by all his friends and acquaintances, his wife included, he was considered not to have done badly.

That was fifteen years ago. The question in which Euphemia was interested was still excluded from the sphere of practical politics, and Euphemia had begun going to prison for it. As for himself, here was he now, the Prime Minister of a country of great commercial importance, compelled by circumstances over which he had no control to run after his own hat! Euphemia's words returned with strange distinctess to his memory. "To do right people sometimes have to make themselves appear ridiculous. I am sorry you haven't the courage." That unjust statement seemed to be finding its illustration in his present dilemma. Euphemia, who lately had been troubling him politically should, in this personal matter at least, be refuted! "I have!" he exclaimed internally, and with defiant resolution put on the pace.

"Another Man's Hat"

At this point his meditations—for the wind was high and the pursuit was taking time—were abruptly broken by the sound of heavy running behind him. With an eager halloo there passed him a gentleman portly like himself, arrayed, as he himself had been till fate divided them, in the top hat and frock coat of respectability: but these were, as half a glance disclosed, of a seedy and threadbare character. The man was evidently one who lived precariously, clinging desperately to outworn symbols of gentility. Doubtless he had descried the florin rejected by the callous urchins, and, with the prospect of an easier and more profitable job than that of the average cab-runner, had thrown his dignity to the winds, and was now committed to the ridiculous and degrading task of chivvying another man's hat for him.

Contented that it should be so, the Prime Minister relinquished the chase, and saw not without amusement the hat make its final spurt for liberty as with an elephantine amble its would-be captor closed in on it. But in another moment his sense of comedy was changed into amazed indignation, for no sooner had the man become seized of his quarry than, effecting a quick transfer, he set it upon his own head, casting down in its place the dilapidated article which had previously reigned there. Then, without one word of explanation, without even a backward glance to judge of ulterior effects, he spun off at increased speed across the greensward by the shortest possible cut to the park boundaries.

For the first time since his arrival in office the Prime Minister saw himself ignored, and the shock of that outrage so disturbed his sense of security that instinctively he clapped hands to that most treasured part of his person where a man hangs his jewellery, to discover whether watch and chain had not gone also And meanwhile far ahead of him ran crime unpunished—so far that his hat was already becoming an insignificant spot upon the landscape. The thief, though he had secured a good start, was portly and out of condition, and ran slow; and wrath and all the instincts of a free citizen defrauded of his rights prompted the Prime Minister to pursue. But a sense of his dignity, a sense also of the reporters of the half-penny press, on which that dignity so largely depended, held him back. He could not afford, even in defence of his rights, to make himself ridiculous.

There was no need; in the nick of time Providence came to his rescue. The sportive instincts of the two urchins, which had previously been against him, now veered round to his support. They had beheld highway robbery, and there ahead of them ran the thief. With a view-halloo that echoed across the park to the policeman stationary at the gates, they clapped heels and were after him.

"Young and Budding Citizens"

Against the fleet rush of those young limbs, pursuing for the mere joy of it, the shabby genteel one's chances of escape were soon reduced to a nullity; his start of a hundred yards was in twelve seconds brought down to sixty; he heard his pursuers, glanced back, and losing his presence of mind, zig-zagged, and broke away on a fresh course. That did for him: the boys striking off the corner of the triangle, began to overhaul him with ease. Keeping at a distance, meanwhile, the Prime Minister followed the chase with a confident resumption of dignity. The boys it was plain did not know him nor did the nursery-maid; the whole ridiculous incident would therefore remain anonymous. Diving a hand down into his well-filled pocket, he took hold once more upon the florin; and now that only a few yards separated the pursuers from their prey, he gave the coin a gay twirl, blithe to part with it to a pair who had so well earned it. Splendid fellows, after all, boys were!—they had their faults of course, their hide-bound prejudices, their callousness to the woes of others (the ghostly Euphemia here put in a constitutional word, and was straightway bidden to retire). But the country could not come to much harm, whose young and budding citizens, with no physical force to speak of, were thus prepared to tackle without hesitation a burly and desperate——

At that moment the burly and desperate what-you-may-call him seeing that his game was up, halted, threw up his hands, clawed off the purloined hat, and with a despairing howl sat upon it. The boys fell upon him with delighted pummellings, their attentions for the moment fully occupied in sweet altruistic revenge.

Meanwhile a crowd was beginning to be attracted to the fray; among them the appalled Prime Minister beheld a policeman, and behind the policeman he saw in imagination, the half-penny press and its reporters. He too halted, cast about him a cursory glance, weighed his chances, then without more ado turned tail and ran. The boys must go without their florin, the crime unpunished, the half-penny press without its information. At all costs the story of that pancake hat must not become attached to the person of a Prime Minister; he could not afford to make himself ridiculous.

He had but to run twenty yards; a grove of trees providentially placed received him within their shelter; he paused to recover breath. And as he paused, and with an eye free from panic began once more to take in his surroundings, whom should he meet but Euphemia—Euphemia, whose expression of countenance at once informed him that she had been an understanding observer of the whole proceedings!

"A Political Opponent"

She gazed at him with those strange grey eyes of hers, but no longer as one who claimed a personal acquaintance, only as recognising a political opponent. And actually, she was going to speak to him! "When are you going to give us——"

Luck had brought him close to the main thoroughfare; he hailed a passing cab, jumped into it, and drove away. He was free; free from the enquiries of the police, free from the reporters, free from the half-penny press, free from the persecuting interrogation of a lady-politician. But a word of Euphemia's—not her last one—still stuck in his brain: "To do right people sometimes have to make themselves appear ridiculous. You haven't the courage." And the conviction came home to him, that without any courage at all, not in the doing, but in the avoidance of right, he had done exactly the same thing: no, not only appeared—he had been ridiculous.

But after all—he drew a relieved breath—it was only Euphemia who had seen him, only Euphemia, that is to say, who *knew*: and Euphemia, even when you had told the worst of her, was a woman of principle. It was a great comfort to him to feel that, in spite of their political warfare, he could depend upon it that she would not sacrifice her principles for the sake of party, or make capital in public, out of an episode which had nothing to do with politics.

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

NURSES WALKING IN THE NEW YORK SUFFRAGE PROCESSION ON MAY 3

(With acknowledgments to the "British Journal of Nursing," in which this picture appeared on July 19.)

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

The Present Position

The Woman Suffrage movement in the United States has reached an intensely thrilling and important situation. Now that ten of the States have granted their women equal suffrage with men, one-fifth of the Senate (the Upper House of Congress) and one-eighth of the House (the Lower House of Congress) are representative of women as well as of men. Altogether some 4,000,000 women of the United States now have the vote. In addition, one-sixth of the Presidential vote comes from equal Suffrage States.

The Federal Amendment

All this lends additional weight to the efforts that are being made in Congress this year with regard to the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution. By the Constitution of the American Union, every State can alter its own franchise laws, and this has been done in each of the ten States where women have already won the vote. The Constitution could also be altered by a Federal amendment passed by Congress, which, after the necessary procedure had been gone through, would operate in all the States of the Union. Such an amendment has, for the first time in the history of the American Suffrage movement, been favourably reported on this year (June 11) by the Senate committee on woman suffrage, and is now before the Senate itself in the form of a Woman Suffrage Bill (Senate Joint Resolution, No. 1).

Helping their Voteless Sisters

It is upon the passage of this Federal amendment that the efforts of American Suffragists, and especially those who are voters, are now concentrated. On August 13, 14 and 15 the National Council of Women Voters held a great Conference at Washington in order to back up their voteless sisters in their fight for enfranchisement. One feature of the campaign is the promotion of a woman suffrage committee in the House, similar to the one in the Senate which has already done such good work. At present Suffrage Bills presented in the House have to go before the judiciary committee, which is already overcrowded with other legislative proposals. A resolution to create a woman suffrage committee being now before the rules committee of the House, the latter granted to the Conference of Women Voters an informal hearing on the subject on August 14, from which great results were anticipated by the women.

In addition to promoting the Federal Amendment Bill, the Conference also considered the legislative proposals for 1914 in connection with the recent Illinois victory, which gave almost full suffrage to 1,600,000 women.

A Procession of Petitions

The strength of the women's demand and its universality were both demonstrated in the great procession of motor cars which went through Washington on July 30, bearing women delegates with petitions demanding the passage of the Federal Amendment from every State in the Union. Members of the Senate Suffrage Committee took part in this impressive demonstration, and Miss Pratt, one of the speakers in the Park, pointed out that this was the first time in the history of any people that the governing body had sent out officials to welcome a disfranchised class bearing petitions.

"They usually barricade the doors and call out the troops," she added, drily. Was she thinking of Great Britain, we wonder?

At the Capitol the procession was disbanded, and the women from each State handed the petitions to their own Senators. Nearly 200,000 signatures of men and women had been obtained; and almost the whole of the morning sitting of the Senate was occupied by the Suffrage speeches of the Senators who rose, one after another, to present the petitions they had received.

HELEN RING ROBINSON

A COLORADO SENATOR

(With acknowledgments to "Collier's Weekly," in which this picture appeared on June 7.)

SENATOR HELEN RING ROBINSON

We give on this page a picture of Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, member of the Colorado Senate, seated at her desk in the Senate House. Senator Robinson, who has recently returned from a tour in the Eastern States which she undertook in order to study what she called 'state housekeeping," made no small impression on her fellow Senators during the last session of Parliament ,which was also her first. In *Collier's Weekly* (June 7) she is reported as saying that she had always been particularly interested in housekeeping.

"And you would be surprised," she adds, "to know how many chances there are to apply that knowledge. I remember one Bill in particular which was designed to cut down the amount allotted to the prisons for food. One of my eminent colleagues got up and made an eloquent hullabaloo about starving the poor prisoner. 'Consider,' he demanded, 'consider, gentlemen, how far thirty-five cents a day would go in feeding each one of you.' I couldn't stand that, you know. I just got right up and said I had considered, and I would guarantee that I could feed any one of those Senators—not convicts, but Senators—for less than thirty-five cents a day, and that I fed my husband for less than that, and if they thought he didn't seem well fed they could ask him."

Mrs. Robinson and her men colleagues seem to have been mutually helpful to one another.

"I was formerly a teacher of English," she continues, "and I knew how to write the English language and to punctuate it once I had it written. My colleagues recognised that. Many a man would hurry over to my desk with his amendment to ask me if it said what he meant it should. In return, my neighbours instructed me on the fine points of parliamentary law, about which they knew more than I."

The Journalistic Comment

Collier's Weekly comments as follows:—

"Now we ask you if this sounds like hysteria. A little leaven of good hard female common sense might not be a misplaced sedative in one of those orgies of sentimentality in which the masculine Solons of the land not infrequently indulge."

SUFFRAGE VIEWS OF A NEW YORK RABBI

(*Special to* Votes for Women.)

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi and Leader of the Free Synagogue, New York, in the course of being interviewed in London last week, made some interesting and enlightened remarks on Woman Suffrage in the United States.

"Within the last ten years," he said, "the fruits of a long-time agitation on behalf of equal suffrage have begun to be felt. State after State is granting the suffrage to women, with the result that nation-wide action is not necessary in our country on this question, as it is in yours."

"Have you any militant suffragettes?"

"Not Inexplicable"

"No," replied the Rabbi, "because it is not necessary; but many Americans believe that though the tactics of the English militants may be inexcusable, they are not inexplicable, because extensions of liberty all over the world have been won by methods far more militant than those practised by the British suffragettes.

"What Americans cannot understand is why a Liberal Government should not include the extension of the suffrage to women in its main programme. The Progressive party in the United States has made woman suffrage one of the first planks in its programme.

Wages and the Social Evil

"This leads me to say a few words on what you call the social evil. The woman suffrage movement is not wholly unrelated to this question. Earnest and vigorous efforts are being made in many States in America to grapple with this problem. Fundamental to the entire question is the securing to every woman worker a living wage. This, of course, will not entirely solve the problem, but we cannot hope to grip the matter effectively until some form of minimum wage is universally established, so that women shall not be compelled to supplement their scanty wages in this dreadful manner.

"We have found in some States," he added, "that women police officers are of great help in dealing with this problem."

HOW THE VOTE IS USED

We have heard something lately of the dropping of the Pure Milk Bill owing to the crowded nature of the last session of Parliament. In Idaho, where women have had the vote since 1896, they take good care that their babies shall not die, as ours do in the hot weather, through impure milk. Mr. Wallis, State Dairy Inspector in that State, was lately interviewed in the *New York Times*, and is reported as saying:—

"There were some fine, large times pursuing our milk supplies back to the source. Not a drop of the milk is sold in Idaho now that is not bottled right at the dairy where it is produced. We do not allow bottling anywhere except at the dairy. And we published the picture of every dairy that was dirty and ill-kept. Alongside of them we published pictures of dairies that were decently kept. And, of course, the dairymen did more out of a sense of pride, or a sense of shame, than they would have done out of a mere duty to obey a law they didn't like. If we find bottles of milk with sediment in them we don't have to analyse the milk. We just seize it and sell it for pig feed, or destroy it."

We can dimly guess what the women voters of Idaho would say if they were told by the men they had elected to represent them that there was time to pass a Bill to torture women political prisoners, and a Bill to regulate the votes of men, but no time to pass a Bill to prevent their babies from being poisoned by impure milk.

NO MORE VULGAR JOKES!

The following statement, which appears in the *Stage* (August 21), is an interesting commentary on the way the Woman Suffrage movement is regarded in a country where something like four millions of women already have the vote:—

"B. F. Keith's Press department advises me that he has issued peremptory orders to the managers of his two-score theatres throughout the United States to suppress all ridicule of the Women's Suffrage movement. Any act which ridicules votes for women will be warned, and, if the offence is repeated, will be cancelled. Mr. Keith has become a convert to Women's Suffrage, and in his order to his managers points out that it is time to put an end to the disrespect habitually paid women by American comedians. Popular songs deride women in many instances, and many time-honoured variety jokes make light of wives and mothers, and give youthful auditors the impression that women are merely subjects for low comedy. The mother-in-law joke was barred in the Keith houses last winter, along with certain violent expletives. From now on Keith vaudeville will give a cold reception to comedians who seek to make laughter by jibing at women, either in the family or political relation. As president of the United Booking Offices, which controls all major vaudeville from coast to coast, Mr. Keith will use his influence to secure the co-operation of all his brother managers in demanding courteous treatment for the Suffragettes."

THE PRE-HISTORIC SUFFRAGIST

Dr. Arno Poebel, who has been engaged in deciphering the tablet dug up at Nippur some years ago, which is in the possession of Pennsylvania University, says that the tablet reads like a new version of the story of Genesis, with one important difference—that the Creator of the world is depicted as a woman. The tablet dates back to about 7,000 B.C., and is probably the oldest version extant of the creation of the world. Dr. Poebel adds that a goddess is depicted quite clearly, while two male gods appear as relatively unimportant. If American Suffragists needed an incentive to greater belief in the ability of women—which we are sure they do not—clearly here it is!

WHAT AN AMERICAN POET THOUGHT ABOUT IT IN 1869

We are greatly obliged to a contributor for bringing to our notice a letter on Woman Suffrage written by John Greenleaf Whittier, which appears on page 153 of his biography, by Georgina King Lewis (Messrs. Headley Bros., Bishopsgate, E.C.). It was written in 1869, a year or two later than the period at which John Bright, whose favourite poet Whittier was, was saying, in despair of moving Parliament to deal with the second Reform Bill of 1867, that he felt the best thing he could tell men at a Reform meeting was that a good rifle could be bought for £2! It is not known to whom Whittier's letter was addressed. We give it in full, as follows:—

My dear Friend,—I have received thy letter inviting me to attend the Convention on behalf of Woman's Suffrage at Newport, R.I., on the 25th inst. I do not see how it is possible for me to accept the invitation, and were I to do so, the state of my health would prevent me from taking such a part in the meeting as would relieve me from the responsibility of seeming to sanction anything in its action which might conflict with my own views of duty or policy. Yet I should do myself great injustice if I did not embrace this occasion to express my general sympathy with the movement. I have seen no good reason why mothers, wives, and daughters should not have the same right of person, property, and citizenship which fathers, husbands, and brothers have.

The sacred memory of mother and sister, the wisdom and dignity of women of my own religious communion, who have been accustomed to something like equality in rights as well as duties; my experience as a co-worker with noble and self-sacrificing women, as graceful and helpful in their household duties, as firm and courageous in their public advocacy of unpopular truth; the steady friendships which have inspired and strengthened me; and the reverence and respect which I feel for human nature, irrespective of sex, compel me to look with something more than acquiescence on the efforts you are making.

I frankly confess that I am not able to foresee all the consequences of the great social and political change proposed, but of this I am at least sure—it is always safe to do right, and the truest expediency is simple justice. I can understand, without sharing, the misgivings of those who fear that, when the vote drops from woman's hand into the ballot-box, the beauty and sentiment, the bloom and sweetness of womanhood will go with it. But in this matter it seems to me we can trust Nature. Stronger than statutes or conventions, she will be conservative of all that the true man loves and honours in woman. Here and there may be found an equivocal, unsexed Chevalier d'Eon, but the eternal order and fitness of things will remain. I have no fear that man will be less manly or woman less womanly when they meet on terms of equality before the law.

On the other hand, I do not see that the exercise of the ballot by women will prove a remedy for all the evils of which she justly complains. It is her right, as truly as mine, and when she asks for it, it is something less than manhood to withhold it. But unsupported by a more practical education, higher aims, and a deeper sense of responsibilities of life and duty, it is not likely to prove a blessing in her hands any more than in man's.

With great respect and hearty sympathy, I am, very truly, thy friend,

John G. Whittier.

Amesbury, Mass, 12th, 8th month, 1869.

THE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

On the reassembling of the French Chamber in the autumn, M. Brisson intends to move the discussion of the favourable report of the Universal Suffrage Committee of the Chamber, which he has already presented. His action will be strengthened by that of the Paris Municipal Council and of the Council of the Seine, both of which have recently declared in favour of giving women the municipal franchise.

FRENCHWOMEN'S VIEWS

Some leading Frenchwomen have been giving their views on the matter to the *Matin*. The Dowager Duchess d'Uzès is astonished that women should have had to wait so long for their vote, and points out that in countries where women vote already "the moral level is rising, alcoholism diminishing, while the birth-rate is as high as elsewhere, and politics at least as clean as in other countries."

What a Woman Barrister Thinks

Maître Hélène Miropolsky, the well-known woman barrister, is emphatic on the need of women for the franchise, pointing to both the marriage and criminal code for examples of the injustice of the law to women. She is strongly in favour of women serving on juries, saying very truly, "The essence of the law is that all citizens should be members of it, in order to avoid the possibility of class verdicts. But how can you expect a man to understand a woman's soul as we could? 'Sex' verdicts have only too frequently taken the place of 'class' verdicts, and they are not a whit less cruel or erroneous."

A Social Reformer

Baroness Fanqueux, president of the Association Aiguille Française, and a great social worker, demands the woman's vote in order to protect the worker and to reform the laws affecting maternal authority. At present, she says, the interests neither of the poor nor the well-to-do woman are sufficiently safeguarded.

The Irrepressible "Anti"

Mlle. Hélène Dutrieu, who has won universal admiration (and the ribbon of the Legion of Honour) for her success as an aviator, does not shine as an exponent of political views. She will never vote, for her part. Woman Suffrage will mean an industrial revolution fomented by "pétroleuses." Of course, these militants do not form the majority of their sex; but, says Mlle. Dutrieu, the place of the others is at home with their children, where the vote, if granted, would be of no use to them. Does this mean that Mlle. Dutrieu is herself a "pétroleuse"? Clearly, as an aviator, she cannot pretend that her place is among the women who stay at home.

SUFFRAGISTS WHO ARE NOW IN PRISON

Name.	Date of Conviction.	Sentence.	Place of Imprisonment.
Mr. Donald McEwan ...	May 19	9 months	Calton Gaol, Edinburgh
Miss Lake*	June 17	6 months	Warwick
Mrs. Rigby*	July 30	9 months' hard labour	Liverpool
Mr. John Manders	Aug. 11	2 months' hard labour	Pentonville
Miss Arabella Scott* ...	May 19	9 months	Edinburgh

* Re-arrested under Cat and Mouse Act.

Three Suffragists were re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act last week. On Wednesday, August 20, Mrs. Mary Wyan, who had been lying ill in the Kensington Infirmary since July 30, when she was released for the second time after hunger-striking, was re-arrested. She again adopted the hunger and thirst strike, and was released for the third time on Saturday, August 23, in a terribly exhausted condition.

Mrs. Edith Rigby, who was released on August 7, for the third time after hunger-striking, was re-arrested last Saturday, and taken to Walton Goal, Liverpool. Her release was expected hourly when we went to Press.

Last Monday, Miss Arabella Scott, who had been missing since her second release after hunger-striking on June 16, was re-arrested in London, and taken to Edinburgh.

PRISONERS RELEASED

On Saturday last, Miss Graham was released at the expiry of her sentence of fourteen days.

Last Tuesday, Miss Gay, who was given the inordinately long sentence of eight months in the first division at the Old Bailey on January 9, for placing a "deleterious substance" in a pillar-box, was released at the expiry of her sentence (minus fourteen days' remission).

THE ANONYMOUS SUFFRAGIST

The anonymous suffragist who was remanded last Tuesday week on a charge of breaking windows at the Colonial Office to the value of £4 15s., was brought up at Bow Street on the following day (having adopted the hunger strike), and was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment in the Second Division. She resumed her hunger strike, and was released on licence four days later.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following revolutionary actions have been attributed in the Press to the militant Suffragists during the past week:

Thursday, August 21.—Telephone wires cut through, call boxes damaged, and instruments rendered useless at the Tube stations at Blackfriars, Chancery Lane, British Museum, Tottenham Court Road, and Oxford Circus. Suffragist literature found.

Friday, August 22.—At Edinburgh a house belonging to a stockbroker discovered on fire early in the morning. Suffragist literature found in grounds.

At Edinburgh on the same day two class-rooms at Fettes College partially destroyed by fire.

Saturday, August 23.—Private garage burnt out and two cars destroyed in Devonshire Road, Handsworth, Birmingham. Women's footmarks caused suspicion to fall on militant Suffragists.

Tuesday, August 26.—Friern Watch, a large private house at North Finchley, partially destroyed by fire. Damage estimated at £200. Suffragist literature found.

MRS. PANKHURST

Prominent Citizens' Petition Against Rearrest

The following letter, signed by well-known citizens, has been sent to Mr. Asquith:—

"As you are doubtless aware, the present administration of the Prisoners' Temporary Release Act has had in the case of Mrs. Pankhurst the effect of causing grave injury to her health and placing her life in serious danger. She has three times been re-arrested after having been released on licence, and should the Act continue to be enforced in the present manner it will inevitably bring about her death, as it is impossible that any other issue could follow on a prolonged succession of periods in prison during which she abstains from food, interrupted only by intervals when she can partially recuperate. You may also remember that the Home Secretary stated in the House of Commons on June 2 last that no steps would be taken for the re-arrest of a prisoner who had been convicted of serious assaults on young girls, but released on grounds of health. We would urge that the moral turpitude involved in the latter offence is much graver than that of which Mrs. Pankhurst has been convicted, and we request the Government of which you are the head to take such measures as will prevent her being subjected to so much severer a punishment."

The letter is signed by Lord Ashbourne, General Booth, of the Salvation Army, and Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Dr. Russell Wallace, O.M., the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Kensington, Sir William B. Richmond, R.A., Mr. William de Morgan, Mr. H. Granville Barker, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. Albert Dawson, Canon James O. Hannay, the Rev. W. Osborne Jay, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Professor R. Ramsay Wright, Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Viscountess Dupplin, the Hon. Lady Anderson, Nina Countess of Seafield, Lady Caroline Ogilvie Grant, Sir Victor Horsley, Mr. C. Mansell-Moulin, and others.

IN THE PRESS

THROUGH A NEW ZEALANDER'S EYES

London is a very hive of detectives, very heavy punishments are being inflicted every day for various offences against law and order, and not only that, but even for suspected offences well-educated women are going to prison by scores, a band of invalids in various dangerous stages of illness are being watched by the Government and are to be clapped into cells again just so soon as their bodies are strong enough for another bout of forcible feeding. And the excuse for withholding votes from all women—from the Duchess of Bedford, who has refused to pay her income tax and some of whose goods have been sold in consequence, down to the East End factory worker—is now that "to yield" to thousands of women's petitions would be to acknowledge that the lawlessness of a bunch of desperadoes has intimidated the Government of Great Britain and Ireland. The case is not unlike that occasion, some two years ago, when a petition was presented in connection with a Bill then before Parliament concerning miners, by numbers of men's societies from the coal-mining districts, asking that pit-brow lassies should be made to abandon their work—not only because it was injurious for them physically (proved to be quite incorrect), but because their ears were assailed by language unfit for women to hear. An amendment was calmly drafted—afterwards quashed when women took the matter up—proposing to grant the miners' request, and not one solitary person suggested, apparently, that rather than rob countless women of their livelihood it might be possible to modify the language. **—Lady Correspondent of the "Canterbury Times" (New Zealand).**

IN A VISITORS' BOOK

It has just leaked out that some unknown lady with Suffragette sympathies wrote in the visitors' book which was kept on board the Royal yacht during Cowes week, "Stop torturing women." — **Reynolds' Newspaper.**

THE JOKE

"Among Messrs. London, Weekes and Co.'s most recent publications is an effective setting of Tennyson's immortal 'Break, Break, Break.'" This should have an encouraging circulation among the militants.—**Punch.**

"There is no truth in the rumour that Sir Herbert has consented, in deference to the wishes (or threats) of the W.S.P.U., to let the colours of Joseph's coat be purple, green, and white."—**Punch.**

Burglars no longer use the jemmy. . . . The typical Bill Sikes prefers an "instrument like a hammer handle wrapped in paper," which breaks windows without undue noise. Can it be that the burglar is taking a leaf out of the book of our militants?—**Globe.**

CORRESPONDENCE

OVERWORKED WIVES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The best test of the practical utility of any social legislation is its results on the moral and physical strength of the mass of the people. There can be no question, judging from the condition of the National forces, that the average Englishman is not only unwilling, but unfit to be a soldier; he is badly begotten, badly bred and badly nourished. He will soon be in the state held up to contempt by Lord Bacon of being a member of a community where not one poll out of a dozen "is fit for a helmet." When listening to the speeches of the railwaymen last Sunday week in their great meeting demanding an eight hours day, while not in the least adverse to their interests, I could see distinctly that they were not clear as to the results of their policy, and that they had no concern for the effect of their proposed innovation on women. I never was more impressed with the need for votes for women to stave off the rapid degeneration of mothers in such a State as ours, and under such an ignorant and careless system of Government.

Fair Play to Mothers.

I question if, as things stand, the low type of men voters and the majority of democratic M.P.'s know or care anything about the conditions under which "races of military men are bred." Yet the primary essential condition is "fair play" to mothers. But I learn on the best evidence of hospital authorities and of observing women and other workers among the poor that some of the most loudly acclaimed reforms for working men mean practically the more miserable enslavement of women.

Let us take the "eight hour shift" in mining districts of the north, and in the case of families earning very good wages in Durham for example. I am informed that the eight hour shift has completely spoiled the lives of hardworking wives and mothers, and through them is spoiling the coming race in these districts.

Never Any Proper Rest.

I learn from a correspondent (with the best means of judging from observation and with an ardent desire to help the workers), who tells me "that the wife never gets any proper sleep or rest, for there are often four or five workers, fathers and sons, in one house, and she must wake them and feed them to get them off at all hours of the day and night. Then they must be welcomed home one after another with another good meal"!

If this be true, and I sincerely trust that some of your readers who are greater experts than I am will not only let me know, but also let democrats like Burns, George, Asquith, and Seely know the whole truth; then it will become clear to the most obtuse of our legislators that the happiness of the women of working households is in inverse ratio to the prosperity of the men. I have long had reason to doubt if the progress of civilisation so-called has brought about any real elevation of the masses of women.

Fantastic Social Experiments.

Since I began to write this letter I have been interrupted by details of worse facts being brought to my notice, all tending to prove that all the fantastic social experiments of men like Mr. Lloyd George tend to make family life worse than ever, and that the so-called Progressive orators and male directors of processional demonstrations forget the main functions of humanity which are concentrated near the hearth. The social bills which are presented to the House of Commons are monstrous displays of lop-sided prejudice and wall-eyed ignorance, and when they become Acts are despotic and costly futilities, and in an especial degree injurious to the interests of matrons.—I have the honour to be, Your obedient servant,

T. MILLER MAGUIRE, LL.D.

10, Earl's Court Square, S.W., August, 1913.

THE CHURCH AND THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—What is the Church doing in this present work of reform? It seems that of all people on the face of this globe, ministers are the ones who should not only realise the importance of women's work in all matters of social reform, but are in the most advantageous position for the education of the masses upon the deep spiritual motives which are hidden under the popular cry of "Votes for Women." It does not take a very great spiritual perception to realise the great need of women's help in the battles against sex oppression and the present conditions that prevail. We have only to study the statistics of sweated labour industries, the hushed-up cases of wealth amassed by means of the sacrifice of girls, the inequalities of the law of Divorce and Inheritance, the economic differences in the commercial world, &c., all of which are battles that woman is fighting to remedy. The first step is to get the cumbersome machinery of the law to recognise officially that woman is part of the Constitution.

These works of reform are not only essentially Christian; they are the very basis upon which all religions are founded; and when a minister shuts his eyes to these things he is shutting Christianity outside.

In talking this matter over a short time ago, the whole question was summed up in the following remark by a clergyman: "The figures of the Church are not at all encouraging at present, but Religion in this country is stronger than ever."

"Yes," I replied; "outside the Church."

This is why the women's movement is not more largely supported by the Church, because, being Christian, it is outside the Church. This is probably why, as soon as a minister begins to break away from ancient dogma and starts thinking, he receives a call from the official Church to some foreign clime, where his views will not clash with orthodoxy.

It is claimed by some that Religion and Politics should be kept apart. Was it Religion or Politics that caused ministers to assemble in Hyde Park to protest against Welsh Disestablishment? Oh, how these pretended principles fall to the ground when "Self" is threatened. Where is the line to be drawn between the two?

Religion, to be of any use and value, must be *Life*, and if one section rules its life by the sacrifice of another section, and you call it "Politics," then Religion and Politics must stand together for the good of humanity. I quite agree that Religion should take no part in the selfish cut-throat business into which our Politics have degenerated.

We should be thankful that we have some ministers with a deep spiritual realisation who are strong enough to stand out from their fellows and proclaim the Gospel of the Master in this present struggle of woman against evil conditions.—Yours, &c.,

R. W.

WANTED—A QUOTATION

"M. A. R. T." writes to ask: "Will some reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN tell me where to find the reference to Lord Brougham's saying that women must not expect the law to be the same for them as for men?"

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Schoolboy's Essay

A correspondent sends us a transcript of an essay written by a Marlborough boy of seventeen. It is supposed to be a speech made on a vote of "want of confidence" in the present Government, and we are glad to quote from two passages in it. One occurs at the beginning of the essay:—

"But, above all, this Government has failed miserably to use its influence to pass a Bill acceding to the wishes of the most philanthropic movement that has stirred the world since the teaching of Christ. I refer to the emancipation of women from all Political Disability."

The other extract deals with the low wages of women, which drive them into the clutches of the White Slave trader. With simple directness, the passage concludes thus:—

"By taking no adequate step to stop it, the Government are supporting it. And how they can still be called gentlemen I fail to see."

Chapter 8

Washing Wears Away Clothes

faster than ordinary use.

That is, washing in the old way—rubbing and scrubbing.

Try this plan—rub the clothes with Fels-Naptha and then let them soak for half an hour in cold or lukewarm water. In that half-hour the Fels-Naptha will loosen the dirt more than all your scrubbing. Then rinse in cold water with just a little rub to get out the loosened dirt.

That doesn't wear away the clothes, does it?

But it makes them whiter and sweeter than the old way.

906 Fels-Naptha 39 Wilson street London E C

WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS AND THE POLICE

More Echoes of July 24

An interesting correspondence has been passing between the Speaker of the House of Commons and Mrs. Cecil Chapman on the subject of the police treatment of the deputation of July 24. The upshot of it is a recommendation on the part of the Speaker that the women who allege the ill-treatment should seek their remedy in the courts of law. There is something ironic in this advice given to people who already know the impossibility of obtaining justice in courts where police evidence is allowed to over-ride all independent evidence, however well attested.

The Letter of Accusation

The first letter to the Speaker was signed by Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Broadhurst, Miss Margaret McMillan, Dr. Barbara Tchaikovsky, Miss Lucy Re-Bartlett, Mrs. Fagan, Miss L. E. Turquand, and Miss Mary Winsor (President Pennsylvania Equal Suffrage League). It sets forth the facts of what occurred on July 24, when the signatories of the letter, among others, were standing on the landings and steps at St. Stephen's entrance, waiting to hear what had happened to the vanguard of the deputation from the Cat and Mouse Conference, who had been admitted to the Lobby with Sir Edward Busk, and three of whom were afterwards arrested.

The letter describes how a sortie of police from the Lobby suddenly drove the waiting women out of the building on to the pavement, and how in the process "Mrs. Cecil Chapman, who was rushed forward with the knee of a policeman pressing into her back, narrowly escaped being thrown headlong down the stairs, Miss Broadhurst was swept off her feet, Miss Winifred Mayo was kicked, and Miss Margaret McMillan thrown down and considerably shaken and hurt, and has been confined to her room ever since."

The letter concludes by drawing attention to the very different treatment accorded to the Scottish Bailies a fortnight earlier.

The Speaker's Answe

The Speaker's secretary, in his reply, dated August 13, says: "The Speaker is informed that the deputation contravened the Sessional Order, passed at the commencement of the Session, copy of which is enclosed, and, in consequence of an attempt to hold a meeting in St. Stephen's Hall, the Police, acting in accordance with the Sessional Order, were obliged to remove members of the deputation from the precincts of the House of Commons. The Speaker understands that this removal was accomplished with as little force as possible. With regard to your mention of the recent visit of forty Scotchmen to the House of Commons, the Speaker is informed that they had made appointments with some five or six members of Parliament, who conducted them over the buildings in several parties. The Scotchmen in question did nothing to contravene the Sessional Order and did not attempt to hold a meeting in St. Stephen's Hall."

Mrs. Chapman's Reply

In reply to this begging of the whole question, Mrs. Cecil Chapman points out, in a letter dated August 17, that the information obtained by the Speaker from the police is "wholly incorrect, and, there is reason to believe, consciously false." It goes on to show that the police have deliberately confused what happened to the portion of the deputation that had entered the lobby with the events that occurred in connection with those who waited outside. Mrs. Chapman continues: "The ladies who followed the deputation, and who, like myself, were excluded from St. Stephen's Hall and assaulted by the police, did not contravene and never had any intention of contravening the Sessional Order. Their removal from the precincts of the House of Commons in the manner complained of had not and could not have had anything to do with the alleged attempt to hold a meeting in St. Stephen's Hall, of which they knew nothing, and which took place some considerable time after their ejection. It is, therefore, grossly misleading for the police to refer to that event and its consequences as an excuse to you for the conduct of which we complain."

"As Little Force as Possible"

With regard to the force used, Mrs. Chapman very rightly affirms that "as little force as possible" is hardly consistent with the facts as stated in her first letter. She further shows that her reference to the conduct of the Scottish Bailies is quite relevant.

"I asked, as they did, to see one of the Government Whips who is known to me, but I was informed by Inspector Rogers that this could only be done when I had left the precincts of the House of Commons and was standing in the road. Such a condition he subsequently admitted in the witness-box at Bow Street had never been suggested in the case of a man."

Free to Ill-treat Women

In conclusion, Mrs. Chapman writes:—"The impression unfortunately left upon the ladies who were mishandled by the police in the manner described at the House of Commons on the day in question, and who have found it impossible to obtain any expression of regret or apology for what took place, is that the police at the House of Commons believe themselves free to treat women who venture to visit there with any indignity which they please."

No one who looks at this matter impartially, or who followed the proceedings at Bow Street on August 4 and 5, when the charges brought against the police by Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck were dismissed by the magistrate without a word of reproof or warning to the police, can fail to see the futility as well as the absurdity of the Speaker's reply, dated August 19, in which he says: "If Mrs. Chapman can substantiate her charges of assault against the police, she has her remedy in the Courts of Law."

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The usual successful meeting was held in Hyde Park on the 17th, when the crowd was very large and friendly—also "as usual"! We hope to continue these gatherings through September, and trust that London members will endeavour to be present at noon on Sundays. We would also urge everyone, no matter where they find themselves, to call on influential men, such as clergymen, members of Parliament, doctors, town councillors, &c., and ask them to protest against the "Cat and Mouse" Act now disgracing our Statute Book. Some men still need having it explained. This applies more especially to members of Parliament. All the more reason for calling on them. This needs no more courage than does ordinary canvassing, and let us remember that, in this case, the call is not made on behalf of a candidate, but in the name of One Who assuredly condemns this refinement of senseless cruelty which it is every Christian's duty to denounce.

Whitechapel Campaign.—Open-air meetings have been held regularly in Whitechapel for some time past, but a special campaign will be commenced on Monday, September 1, further particulars of which will be given in this column next week. Open-air speakers, canvassers, &c., urgently needed. Will members and friends willing to help in any way whatever please communicate with Miss McGowan?

Concerning Speakers.—Everyone is implored to attend meetings wherever possible, and take notes. London members should join our class in the autumn, and all ought to obtain and read "Public Speaking and Chairmanship," by O'Dell (the Clerk Publishing Society), 1s. It is becoming increasingly necessary to explain the way we are governed to the electorate, who must not be allowed to overlook the fact that, although the probably superfluous House of Commons is giving itself a good five months' holiday, the Cabinet Ministers are going to confabulate even earlier than usual, and are holding as many as six Cabinet meetings during October. The inference is obvious.

Remember that Bazaar!

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ALFRED DAY,

51 and 52, Park St., Regent's Park
(Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

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"SPECIAL" SKIN GLOVES.
REALLY WASHABLE.

WHITE. CREAM. NATL. 2 Buttons, 2/11 & 3/11. SAXE, to pull on. 3/11 Elastic Wrists.

GLOVE STORES, SLOANE ST., S.W.

THE "ITALICISED CLAUSE"

We uttered a note of warning in our last issue against the suggestion made by a member of the recent Suffrage deputation to Mr. Asquith, to the effect that a Reform Bill might be introduced containing an "italicised" Woman Suffrage clause. Mr. Henry W. Nevinson accentuates the warning in a letter to the *Nation,* in which he says, referring to Mr. Asquith's apparently favourable reception of the idea:—

"Now, one of Napoleon's most useful Maxims of War was 'Never do what your enemy wishes you to do.' Upon the question of woman suffrage, Mr. Asquith is the enemy we are out to defeat and overthrow, and so we must be very careful never to do anything that he wishes us to do—anything that he regards with favour. The reasons for our enemy's favour are sufficiently plain. Let us assume (as the suggestion assumes) that the same Government which has displayed such ineptitude, blindness, and embittered hostility in dealing with this question is returned to office by the next General Election. They bring in a Franchise Bill, including woman suffrage as an 'italicised clause,' upon which all members may vote as they like, no Government Whips being put on. In the first place, the Speaker would very likely upset the arrangement, as he did before, upon some plea of want of precedent or breach of rules. In the second, if it escaped the Speaker, the clause would be voted down by the Tories, who would oppose it as part of a Government Bill. It would be voted down by any specialist party who, like the present Irish, are always ready to betray the cause if it suits their own book to please Mr. Asquith. And it would be voted down by the case-hardened Liberal 'Antis,' who, having no fear of the Whips before their eyes, would, as usual, abandon their Liberal principles the moment that the word 'woman' was mentioned.

Women Jockeyed Again

"The result would be that the Government's Franchise Bill, giving more votes to men, would pass, and women be jockeyed again. No wonder Mr. Asquith is inclined to regard the suggestion with favour. The period of women's exclusion from citizenship would be indefinitely prolonged, the present agitation intensified, the present blood-poisoning within the body of the State aggravated."

◆

WOMEN AND PEACE

The following resolution, moved by Mr. Jaakoff Prelooker, of London, delegate from the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage, and seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Mansfeldt, of Utrecht, delegate and Hon. Secretary of the Alliance, was presented to the twentieth Universal Peace Congress, which met last week at the Hague:—

"That, in view of the fact that women are not less deeply interested in the blessings of peace than men, and are indeed, by their natural maternal instinct, even more anxious for the lives, health, and happiness of their sons, but being deprived in most States of the Parliamentary vote, cannot help fully and effectively the cause of international arbitration by direct influence upon Parliament and Governments, the twentieth Universal Peace Congress expresses its conviction that the political enfranchisement of women is most desirable on this as well as on many other moral and economic grounds and would lead to a speedier cessation of the arbitrament of war in cases of international disputes."

During the discussion on an international police, Mr. Jaakoff Prelooker said that the resolution was an appeal to physical force, and declared that they should first exhaust all the moral forces which were at their disposal. One great moral force hitherto almost untouched was the force which lay in their womanhood. (Applause.) The speaker was proceeding to speak in favour of woman suffrage when Mr. J. F. Green objected that the subject under consideration was that of an international police.

The President called Mr. Prelooker to order, but he represented that he was there as a delegate from the World's International Alliance for Women's Suffrage, and went on to show that in the event of woman suffrage being granted universally there would be no need for an international police. The German people had a proverb, known also in other languages, to the effect that "Ein Vögel in der Hand ist besser als zehn Vögeln in der Lüft"; and he would add that the help which women could give was a "Vögel" in the hand, and the international police was a "Vögel" in the "Lüft." (Laughter.)

THE WOMAN'S THEATRE

The enterprise known as the Woman's Theatre, conducted under the auspices of the Actresses' Franchise League, of which we gave some account in an interview with Miss Inez Bensusan, which appeared in our issue of May 23, is making great strides towards fulfilment. The Coronet Theatre has been taken for a short season, beginning on December 8, when Mrs. Bernard Shaw's translation of Brieux's play, "La Femme Seule," will be produced. This will probably be followed by Mr. Farquharson Sharp's version of Björnson's "A Gauntlet." The idea of the whole scheme is that it should be a preliminary to a permanent theatre managed by women in the interests of the woman's movement, which shall be established on a sound commercial basis. The financial success of this first season is practically assured already, the money being raised by guarantees of one sovereign, which entitle the guarantors to one seat in any part of the house. Those who wish for two consecutive seats in any part of the house must make themselves responsible for two sovereigns' worth; and the idea is that the profits shall be divided between the Actresses' Franchise League and all the Suffrage societies that have taken tickets, to the amount of their guarantees, of course. Apart from the financial side of it, even from the feminist side of it, the enterprise will provide real enjoyment for all who care for real drama.

◆

ACTRESSES IN HYDE PARK

One of the most interesting Suffrage meetings held in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoons—and there are many, for most of the Societies are represented there every week, and each platform is surrounded with a large and attentive crowd, many of them foreign and provincial visitors to London—is that held by the Actresses' Franchise League. The A.F.L. has only started these Hyde Park meetings within the last few weeks, and some well-known actresses, as well as other able speakers, have already appeared on their platform. Last week Mrs. Chaplin, Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss Nina Boyle, and Mr. Stack were the speakers; the week before it was Miss Janette Steer, Miss Hicks, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson who spoke. Next Sunday's meeting will be held, as usual, at six o'clock, and the lorry will fly the well-known pink and green colours of the League.

◆

TRADE UNIONS AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE

Woman Suffrage is likely to afford one of the hottest subjects of debate at the Trade Unions Congress, which will meet in Manchester next Monday, September 1. The Parliamentary Committee has given notice of an adult suffrage motion. Five unions, including the General Union of Textile Workers and the Shop Assistants, take the practical view that woman suffrage has got to come before more votes are given to men, and these are therefore pressing upon the Parliamentary Committee the necessity for demanding the immediate enactment of a Government measure giving votes to women. It is to be hoped that the Congress will recognise its responsibility in the matter, and will not allow the debate to fizzle out in some academic resolution on the desirability of giving women the vote. We have heard all that before, and we are very tired of it.

◆

THE MEN FROM THE NORTH

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage (Organiser, Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett) is in a fair way to becoming a powerful factor in the fight for women's freedom. A big meeting was recently held under its auspices at Berwick, at which Councillor Crawford and others spoke, and it is evident from this and other growing signs that Mr. Asquith's refusal to receive the recent deputation of Scottish Bailies, and his disregard of the will of the electors in the North of England and in Scotland will work out very badly for the Liberal party at the next General Election. As Bailie Alston, J.P., predicted at Lady Cowdray's reception of the Scottish delegates last month, it will go hardly with Liberal candidates when they again seek the suffrages of the constituencies whose delegates the Prime Minister has insulted.

◆

THE SUFFRAGE MAP

The excellent map of the United States, showing the present position of Woman Suffrage in that country, which appeared in our issue of June 20, is the copyright, we are informed, of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. We much regret that we failed to make the necessary acknowledgments at the time of publication, and are glad to do so now.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY.

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters' Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
27, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
[illegible]7, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

AN ATTRACTIVE CATALOGUE

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9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

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